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ment in the field of the stone is very similar to that described on the other side of the chimney-piece, the upper compartment commencing with a large Tudor rose of seven petals, followed by a zig-zag-raised line having ivy-leaves sculptured in high relief in each of the triangular compartments.

I strongly incline to the belief that in the two figures we have the O'Sullivan More and his lady, the daughter of Mac Carthy Reagh¹; and, if so, the example of costume thus afforded to us is of great interest. Certainly, the lady had not donned the female dress of the court of Queen Elizabeth, and evidently had not been honoured with one of those costly robes bestowed by Elizabeth on those "well-bred ladies," the Countess of Desmond and the wife of Turlogh Lynogh, so admirably written upon by your learned correspondent, Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy. The dress, too, of the male figure is plain enough to be "mere Irish," and the cap has an undoubted Celtic look about it. At all events, if we dare not *identify* the figures from the Dunkerron chimney-piece, we must regard them as affording evidence of the male and female costume of the gentry in the county of Kerry in the year 1596.

PLATE I., Fig. 2.—This inscription, which is carved in raised Roman capitals, occurs on a separate stone, and does not appear to have originally formed any part of the chimney-piece; on the contrary, it is highly probable that it was placed in the wall over the principal entrance to the castle. The mantle-piece exhibits an example of what is termed by architects the joggled arch.

DUNKERRON CASTLE.

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

NEAR the head of the estuary or bay of Kenmare (Hibernice, *Ceann Mara*), in the county of Kerry, stand all that remains of this once important fortalice.

The few ancient notices which we possess, supposed to refer to this great inlet, are subjects of doubt and conjecture. By some it is believed to have been the *Inbher Sgeine* of our native writers, and either the Iernus or Iuvernina, or the *Dur* of the geographer Ptolemy. But Camden supposes that the *Dur* was the rivulet flowing into the

¹ The grandson of Finin an Duna Mac Carthy Reagh (for whom O'Callagh transcribed the "Book of Lismore,") was Donell Mac Carthy, the 3d *Reagh*. This Donell was married twice; once, and firstly, to a daughter of Teg Mac Cormack, Lord of Muskerry; and, secondly, to Ellinor, daughter to

Gerald, Earl of Kildare. Donell was the father of Sir Donogh M'Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery. Sir Donogh was the father of the celebrated Florence Mac Carthy, and also of *Shilie*, who was married to Sir Owen O'Sullivan, both supposed to be represented by the *graceful* couple who support the shield.

bay of Tralee; whilst Dr. O'Connor, after Ware and the historian Smith, assigns it to the bays of Castlemain and Dingle. Dr. Graves gives it to the bay of Kenmare, at whose entrance lies the island of *Dur-sey*. Nevertheless, the opinion may be worthy of consideration which would identify the *Dur* with the *Cuan-dur*, or Glandore Harbour, in the south-west of the county of Cork. The name is certainly indicative of our early Iberian descent, and of the sunny regions watered by the Durus or Duero.

Be this, however, as it may, the first colony visiting Ireland after the deluge, that of Partholan, landed at Inbher-sgeine; and although Dr. Todd (in the "Irish Nennius") conjecturally assigns this name to the mouth of the River Corrane, in Ballinaskelligs Bay, in the immediate neighbourhood, we must, in the absence of his reasons for so doing, incline to the more generally received appropriation. The bay was again the scene of the invasion of the Milesians; and here was drowned on that occasion the Lady Scene Dulsaine, the wife of the Archdruid Amhergin, whence the *Inbher* derived its now time-honoured appellation.

Dunkerron Castle, a massive-vaulted structure of the "Tudor" era, occupies the site, as its name implies, of an ancient dun or fortress, constructed ere the introduction of castellation into Ireland. It is distant about two miles from the modern town of Kenmare. In its present condition it is a greatly shattered, but not unpicturesque ruin, standing close by the shore, within a small demesne, and environed by recent plantations. Its southern side has entirely fallen, carrying with it portions of the eastern and western walls. Originally a vaulted tower or keep, it was ascended by flights of stone stairs in the thickness of the walls. Its great arch, contrary to the usual practice, instead of being placed in the upper part of the building, formed a basement compartment, at about one-third of the whole elevation from the ground. The greater portion of this vault has also been destroyed, leaving only a mere fragment of it remaining.

At a short distance from its south-east angle stands the high-pitched end wall or gable of a more recent mansion, belonging to the Transition period, succeeding the reign of the first James. It retains its capacious fire-places and mantle-pieces, but no other feature worthy of notice. The whole structural group, although not without picturesque effect, has never yet found any published or engraved illustration, nor has it received the charitable vesture or drapery of mantling ivy, so seldom withheld from our old warrior or religious piles. No doubt, tradition and legend have been associated with its story, and reminiscences of its past days may still survive in the folk-lore of the neighbouring peasantry; for its ancient lords were of a stirring and daring race, who limited not their operations to the adjoining plains and mountains; their galleys tra-

versed in search of adventure, glory, or traffic on the open seas which lay around, frequently visiting the ports of the Saxon and the Gall, or those farther to the south, remembered as the original home of their distant forefathers; but of these recollections we have noted none, and must leave their collection for some future gleaner.

The O'Sullivan More, to whom this castle and the wide-spread domains which once appertained to it belonged, was the head of a powerful "*Eoganacht*," or "Eugenian" tribe of the same royal *Heberean* race with the Mac Carthies, the common ancestor of both families being Aedh dubh, King of Munster. This prince had two sons, Finghin and Failbhe Flan, who severally succeeded him in the provincial sovereignty. From Finghin descended, in the eighth generation, Eochy, son of Maol Ughra, who received the soubriquet of *Sullivan*; whilst Failbhe was the ancestor of *Cartha*, each of whom gave the family surname to his posterity.

The derivation of his denomination of Sullivan to Eochy is the subject of a pious but, nevertheless, rather improbable legend. It happened that an Albanian Druid, named *Labhan*, in the course of a speculative tour in Ireland, visited this prince, then residing at his ancestral moat of Knockgraffon, in the present county of Tipperary. Delighted with his poetical and musical art, Eochy desired him at his departure to name the reward which he chose to receive. "Your two eyes," said the rapacious and malevolent old pagan: and Eochy, holding in special regard his own good name, and fearing, beside, the poet's satire, gave them to him. St. Ruadhan of Lothra was at that time on a visit also at the royal moat; and, justly incensed at what had occurred, he prayed that the eyes of Labhan should be transferred to Eochy, instead of those he had lost. His supplication was heard, and the prince, thus "recouped," received thenceforth the name of *Suil-Labhan*, that is, the "eyes of Labhan." When patronymics came to be adopted in Ireland, in the reign of that "Star of the Field," Brien of the Tributes, at the close of the tenth century, Buadhach cro, the grandson of Eochy, assumed the soubriquet of his grandsire, and transmitted same to his descendants.

The O'Sullivans were driven from their Tipperary domains about the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion. They subsequently located themselves in West Munster, occupying the deeply-indented coasts lying between the Mizzen Head and the bay of Castlemain. Here they gradually increased and multiplied, branching out into various clans, but all owing fealty to their chief at Dunkerron, who again acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mac Carthy More, the elder representative of their original stock, and of whose military levies the O'Sullivan was the hereditary Marshal. The more prominent of the lesser septs of the name were the O'Sullivans of Beara, Bantry, Capanacuss, Ardea, Tomies, and the Mac Gillicuddys.

The fate of the O'Sullivan Bere forms an interesting incident in the "Pacata," with the destruction of whose strong fastness at Dunboy, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the rebellion of Desmond was signalized. Then it was that the wild but magnificent estates of heath and mountain forming the peninsula of Ivera were forfeited and lost to them for ever. A younger branch of this house, the O'Sullivan of Cuolagh, retained, until a recent period, a respectable position near Berehaven. Its present representative is a son of the late John O'Sullivan of Coumatringane.

The O'Sullivan of Bantry, who resided at the Castle of Carriganass, suffered a similar penalty for unsuccessful resistance in the same hapless insurrection.

The Cappanacuss O'Sullivan was seated a few miles to the west of Dunkerron. His stronghold was a narrow "peel house" or castle, most unpretentious in its architectural features. This building still braves the tempest and the breeze within the demesne of Dromore, near where the Kerry Blackwater joins the bay of Kenmare, after emerging from one of the most picturesque scenes to the south of Killarney, at Blackwater Bridge. The O'Sullivan of Cappanacuss, in default of male issue to the O'Sullivan More, succeeded to his inheritance as next in seniority. It is said that the O'Sullivan of Dunloe (Tomies), was in the last century the representative of these two houses, but no authority for this appears.

The O'Sullivans, who took the name of Mac Gillicuddy, are still represented. They assumed the latter appellation in honour of their patron saint, and the family still enjoy rank and position in their native county. The present "Mac Gillicuddy of the Reeks" resides in his paternal mansion at Whitefield, at the base of Carn-tuel, near Killarney, and traces his pedigree to *Giolla Mochuda caoch*, son of Donal More O'Sullivan of Carrigfinvoy. Connor, the son of Giolla Mochuda, is recorded by the Four Masters as having been slain by his own kinsman in 1411.

Other septs of power and consideration were the O'Sullivans of *Ardea*, at the Iveratha side of the estuary, and the Mac Fineen duff, whose descendant in the female line, Mrs. Peter M'Sweeny, has only recently removed from the vicinity of that chieftain's old homestead by the shore of Glenmore Lake.

A branch of the O'Sullivans has been for many years settled in the south of England, and is represented by Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Sullivan, Baronet, of Ditton, in Surrey, and George James Sullivan, of Willmington, in the Isle of Wight, Esq. Sir Bernard Burke states ("Peerage and Baronetage," p.956), that the last-named gentleman is entitled to the title of O'Sullivan More, as the descendant of the eldest son of Benjamin Sullivan, Clerk of the Crown for Cork and Waterford, who resided on the South Mall, in the city of Cork, in the middle of the last century, and first discontinued the "O" from the name. On this head the genealogists may, however, differ.

The Castles of Carriganass, Dunboy, Reendeeshart, Ardea, Dunkerron, Cappanacuss, and Dunloe still survive in more or less preservation—the last alone now habitable, the others utterly ruinous—monuments, however decayed and fallen, yet attesting the former power and importance of a high and chivalrous race, whose proud boast was expressed in the well known—

“Nulla manus tam liberalis, et generalis atque
Universalis quam Sullivanus.”

A descent of many generations from Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, brings us to Muirheartach More O'Sullivan, who was living in 1376. He married Catherine, daughter of Mac Carthy More. Their son, Bernard, allied himself in marriage with another branch of the same race.

A. D. 1451. Dermot, son of Teige, son of Cormac Mac Carthy, was slain, and Dermot, the son of O'Sullivan More, was killed in revenge of him.

1550. Dermot O'Sullivan was burned by gunpowder in his castle.

Fourth in descent from the above-named Dermot was Donell na Sgreadhaigh (the Shouter), son of Rory (says the pedigree; son of Donnell, say the Four Masters). He married Mary, daughter of Cormac Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry. This Donell died in 1580; his wife had died previously in 1548; and his son, *Owen*, was installed in his place. This is the chieftain named in the accompanying inscription. In 1585, according to the Four Masters, he went to the Parliament summoned in that year to Dublin by the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrott; but did not sit therein. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Cormac Oge, son of Teig Mac Carthy, who died in 1593; and secondly, Sily, daughter of Mac Carthy Riabhac, Prince of Carbery (Cork), named also in the inscription. This lady was living in 1603, and Owen died in 1623. Notwithstanding the frequency of these intermarriages with the Mac Carthies, a strong feeling of animosity existed between the Lords of Dunkerron and their feudal superiors, the Mac Carthys More. In 1597 we find Sir Nicholas Browne, an ancestor of the Earls of Kenmare, writing:—“First you must understand that in Desmond there are two great septs which are called O'Sullivans and O'Donoghues, which upon very most occasions have been enemies to the Mac Carthy More.” And again, the sept of the O'Sullivans is mentioned “as commonlie at warre with the Earle (Glancare) and seeking his weakeninge.”

The issue of Owen and Sily were Donel, Owen (living in 1640), Dermot, Mary, Elen, and Sile. The eldest son (Donel) married, first, Honora, daughter of Fitzgibbon the White Knight, who died issueless; and secondly, Joan, daughter of Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord of Kerry. In 1632, during its occupancy by Donel, the Castle of O'Sullivan More, on the River of Kenmare, is described

by the Lord President of Munster, in a letter to the Lords Justices, as "a strong and defensible building." From this Donell descended Owen, who forfeited in the wars of 1641. In 1642 Owen O'Sullivan More, of Dunkerron, represented his sept on the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. He was the father of Daniel, who died in 1699. Eoghan Roe, son of this Daniel, died, in his father's lifetime, at Dublin, in 1687, "and all Leth Mogha," says the genealogist, "was filled with the glory and greatness of his benevolence, honour, generosity, poesy, and his every other noble and laudable quality."

Florence Soolevan of Nodden (Neddeen, the Irish name of Kenmare town), in the county of Kerry, was one of the attainted in 1691; and in 1696 Henry Lord Shelburne passed patent for the lands of O'Sullivan More, in the barony of Dunkerron, his widow, Mary, receiving jointure of part thereof.¹ Tradition states that, at the time of the Revolution, Dunkerron Castle was held by MacCarthy Reagh. The late Maurice O'Connell, son of the great Tribune, has left some spirited lines on the fall of the last chieftain of the MacCarthy race who held this structure, and who, with his nephew, was killed at Aughrim. This poem commences:—

"On high Dunkerron's battlements the slanting sunbeam falls," &c.

Eoghan, who died in 1687, left a son, Daniel O'Sullivan More, who married Hester O'Sullivan. He died on April 16, 1754, without issue, and his widow survived him until 1796. Both were buried in the monastery of Oirbealigh, or Irrelough (Mucross), the ancient burial-place of the race, as well as of the O'Donoghues, &c.

Until within a few years the sculptured stones, of which Mr. Du Noyer has furnished the Society with the faithful and graphic drawings appended to his article,² lay in a boat-house attached to "Lansdowne Lodge," near Kenmare, during the occupancy of Mr. Pelham, a former agent of the Shelburne estates. They were subsequently removed to Dunkerron, where I saw and took rubbings of them; since then they have been placed, surrounded by mason-work, in the wall of the more recent ruin, near the original building, where they are now, it is hoped, safe from injury. They formed portions of a carved chimney-piece in the original structure, although not coeval with it. Crofton Croker has given copies of the arms and the inscription in his "Fairy Legends," and the latter was also published in "Notices of Cork and Killarney," and again in the "Transactions of this Society,"³ the late Mr. Hitchcock, in his fastidious love of minute accuracy, deeming a typographical error in the "Notices" sufficient justification for a republication!

The shield of arms suggests a few observations. The blazoning is totally different from that in use by the O'Sullivans for the last

¹ D'Alton's "Army List," p. 236.

² *Ante*, p. 290.

³ Vol. ii., p. 128.

two centuries, which is, according to the heralds, "Per pale, vert and ar. on the first a buck pass. ppr. on the second, a boar pass. per pale, sa. and ppr. On a chief or, two lions, ramp. combatant, gu. supporting with the fore paws a sword entwined with a serpent. Crest, on a ducal coronet a bird ppr.

Motto, "Lamh Foistenach an Uachtar." In Harris's "Ware," p. 164, their war-cry is given as "Fustina-Stelly-aboe," whatever that means.

To me the Dunkerron shield and its charges have a very Arkite expression, and seem quite a mythological composition. The latter appear more or less connected with the legendary lore of the family. Differing so entirely from all the recognised rules of heraldry in the sixteenth century, we may presume that in the blazoning the artist must have taken his instructions from the hereditary Bolsaire or Seanachuidhe, full of traditional recollections of the race, or had used "emblems and devices, which had previously existed beyond the memory of man."¹

In the chief or upper part of the field occurs the Murghein, Muirghuilt, Murruach, Merrow, or Mermaid, which may be explained by that legend of an O'Sullivan, who wooed and won, but only immediately to lose, one of those fabled sea nymphs, as we are informed in Crofton Croker's metrical version of the "Lord of Dunkerron."² It is almost unnecessary to say that a belief in these beings has been universal in all ages; Hesiod speaks of syrens in the early periods of Greece, and Erick Pontoppidan describes the *Mar Gyga* of Scandinavia. The Berugh is a prominent character in the folklore of Imokilly, according to Mr. Hackett. His Merrow is endowed with the gift of prophecy,³ and so is the mermaid of Resenius mentioned in the "Border Minstrelsy."⁴ Indeed the belief has not died out in the present day, as we had a recent instance of the capture of a so-called mermaid in the newspapers. That the O'Sullivans, a maritime tribe for the last six centuries, believed in their existence, may be fully credited, and the tradition regarding the love passage of one of their house may be received as an event of sufficient mark to be preserved or recorded amongst the achievements grouped in the armorial escutcheon.

The extended open hand is assuredly characteristic of the "Nulla manus tam liberalis," &c., of which this ancient sept boasted, and of which they also preserved a memorial in their motto, "Lamh Foistenach."

Of the boar, the only one of these symbols preserved in the modern heraldic charges, we have no indication in "tale, romance, or lay." It was very probably some lingering remnant of that old por-

¹ Burke's "Armory."

² "Fairy Legends," vol. ii., p. 59.

³ "Trans." of the Society, vol. ii., p. 313.

⁴ Vol. iii., p. 333.

cine worship noted by Mr. Hackett in his paper published in these "Transactions,"¹ akin to the superstition of the Hindoo Boar Varaha.

The fish, it may be suspected, also belongs to the same class of mythic beings; the *piast* is still, as of old, believed to haunt our lakes and rivers,—a vestige assuredly of that serpent-worship which we find in full vigour at this day in China. We have lately seen going "the rounds of the press" the following newspaper paragraph on this subject:—

"The intendent of Ningpo sends a deputy in the dry season of every year to sacrifice to the dragon, and to pray for rain. Besides this official service in times of drought, farming people also come at the same time, and, in order to move heaven to relieve the parched land, some even immolate themselves by drowning in the pool frequented by the dragon."

Many of our Irish saints had to contend with this form of paganism. Mochua of Balla overcame a horrid monster (Bellua) which infested one of the Connaught lakes.² Saints Senanus and Kevin struggled successfully with the *piasts* or dragons of Scatterry and Glendalough. Unlike as the *piast* on the escutcheon is to a lizard, Mr. Du Noyer conjectures upon it that it might indicate a joint coat of arms, a blending of the bearings of the two great families of O'Sullivan and Mac Carthys, allied, as has been shown, more than once. But the Mac Carthys had not assumed the lizard at this date, if we can believe that the arms in the chancel at Mucross Abbey belong to them.³

The galley, of course, refers to the maritime pursuits of this sea-board sept. "In allusion to the galley," says Crofton Croker, "it may be mentioned that a favourite name of the O'Sullivans is Morty or Murfy (correctly written Murcheartach), which literally means 'expert at sea,' or an old navigator."

These arms not being in accordance with Anglo-Irish blazoning, it becomes a question whether they belong to any recognised system peculiar to the native race. If this were so, the Dunkerron sculptures would possess a peculiar interest, as heraldic bearings of that description are particularly rare.

O'Halloran⁴ tells us that at Tara the esquires of the nobility presented themselves at the door of the grand hall (Miodhchuarta) and gave in the shields and ensigns of their different masters to the deputies of the great Marshal of the Crown, and, by direction of the King-at-Arms, they were ranged according to the quality of the different owners. Dermot O'Connor, the translator of Keating, had, several years before O'Halloran wrote, published a statement somewhat similar, an interpolation on the text of his author.⁵

¹ Vol. ii., p. 309.

² Colgan, "Acta Sanctorum," p. 780.

³ See Hall's "Ireland," vol. i., p. 217, and

Rowan's "Lake Lore," p. 49.

⁴ "History of Ireland," p. 130.

⁵ See Haliday's "Keating," p. 330.

But neither in the poem of Eochaidh O'Flinn, descriptive of this great banqueting-hall, nor in that of Keneth O'Hartigan, who was contemporary with O'Flinn in the tenth century, and to whom Dr. Petrie refers as the sole authority from which writers have drawn their accounts of the magnificence of Tara, is there the slightest reference to armorial insignia. But we have in Keating, and it is to be found in every copy of the original manuscript of that writer which I have seen, although his translator O'Connor has altogether omitted it, a passage since published by Dr. O'Donovan, informing us that the clans carried with them into battle distinctive military ensigns of various colours and textures. These were as necessary, certainly, to them, as rallying-points, as their characteristic war-cries or shouts. The evidence of this fact is drawn from the ancient account of the battle of Magh Rath, fought in A. D. 637 between Domhnall, King of Ireland, and Congal Claen, King of Uladh. Here we find the contending armies marshalled under ensigns of different colours, each king having his own standard (Meirge), "great symbol of plunder, floating from its staff," and charged with emblematic devices. Such was the banner of Congal, the King of Ulster:—

"A yellow lion on green satin
The insignia of the Craobh ruadh,
Such as the noble Conchobhar bore."

Keating, referring to this statement, derives the practice of distinguishing by banners, which prevailed from the earliest times, from the example of the Israelites, in their Exodus from Egypt, when each of the Twelve Tribes bore its blazoned standard, as the Tribe of Reuben, the Mandragora, &c. Indeed, we are expressly told in Numbers, ii. 2, that the Israelites carried with them standards "with the ensigns of their fathers' house" upon them.¹

But although the clans were thus distinguished, we have no evidence of armorial bearings or escutcheons in the sense of modern heraldry. O'Flaherty, in "Ogygia,"² citing Bartholemeus Cassaneus, describes the insignia of Ireland as a golden king enthroned in majesty, holding a lily on a black field, but no date is given. Dr. O'Donovan gives positive testimony against their use by any Milesian Irish family before the reign of Elizabeth,³ and avers that the Irish families "first obtained the complex coats of arms which they now bear from England, retaining on the shield, in many instances, those simple badges which their ancestors had on their standards, such as the red hand of O'Neill, the cat and salmon of O'Cathain, or

¹ The O'Sullivans had their standards of battle charged with a spear entwined by a serpent, as in the Rann:—

"I see mightily advancing in the plain
The banner of the race of Finghin,

His spear with a venomous adder (entwined),
His host all fiery champions."

But this was not a blazoned shield.

² Page 45.

³ "Magh Rath," p. 348.

O'Kane, &c. &c., with such additions as the King-at-Arms thought proper to introduce, in order to complete the escutcheon after the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry, according to the rank of the family for whom the coat was manufactured."¹

Elsewhere (p. 350) the learned Doctor says :—

“The armorial bearings of the old Irish families, as preserved on their tombs since the reign of Henry VIII., if carefully collected, would throw much light on the kind of badges they had borne on their standards, previously to their adoption of the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry.”

In these opinions of this justly esteemed scholar and antiquary I fully concur. The few shields of arms belonging to the Milesian race which I have seen and examined at Inis Caitre, Roscommon, Mucross, and elsewhere, are all blazoned in this Anglo-Irish style, and evidently belong to a recent age. Indeed, it is highly probable that before the entire submission of the native Irish, temp. Elizabeth, those proud chiefs, who had so long sought to maintain their independence, refused to accept or to imitate the herald's art, as organized in the English school.

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 280.)

THE charges brought against Kildare not having been substantiated, he was, in January, 1523, permitted to return home. In the following month he writes from his “Manor of Maynooth” to Cardinal Wolsey, asking to nominate the new Bishop of Kildare, significantly observing that, as the profits of the see were mostly to be gathered from among the Irishry, they were not lightly to be come at without the aid of temporal power. In the month of May he describes a military expedition he had lately made to chastise an Irish enemy in the north, whose castle, Belfast, he broke down, and through whose country he carried a cloud of fire and smoke for some four and twenty miles. In the same despatch he complains that a severe raid had just been made upon him by the Lord Deputy, Piers Earl of Ormond, to the extent of carrying off no less than five hundred stud mares and colts. His Countess wrote by the same cou-

¹ “Magh Rath,” p. 348.